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SAL

THE

CABINETS COMPARED;

OR,

AN ENQUIRY

INTO THE

Late and Present Administration;

SKETCHES OF THE

LEADING CHARACTERS IN BOTH;

REMARKS ON THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF WHIGGISM,

AND ON

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION,

AND ITS SUPPORTERS IN AND OUT OF PARLIAMENT.

The Catholic Question

IMPARTIALLY REVIEWED;

WITH OTHER TOPICS OF EQUAL NATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

DEDICATED TO A

DISTINGUISHED MEMBER OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

LONDON:

SAUNDERS AND OTLEY,

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DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD LYNDHURST,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

My Lord,

Were it necessary a tribute of respect should be suited to the worth, talents and distinguished rank of the individual to whom it is offered, I should not hesitate to deny myself the honour of inscribing this Work to your Lordship. But your Lordship's name is so deeply connected with the best interests of the Empire, that when prefixed to a publication, however humble, having for its object the welfare of the Constitution, it cannot be misplaced.

It is, therefore, highly gratifying to me to embrace this opportunity of evincing my respect and admiration for the character of one who combines the talents of a Statesman, with the learning and ability requisite to fill the high office to which your Lordship has been so deservedly elevated.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

THE CABINETS COMPARED,

&c.

CHAP. I.

ERRATA.

In note to page 3, 2d line, insert "*de*" for "*nil.*"
In Page 63, 17th line, insert "came" for "come."
In Page 85, 8th line, insert "and" for "nor."
In Page 89, 11th line, insert in note to (*save one**) * *Mr. Peele.*
In Page 91, last line but three "subsided" for "subdivided."

tration were urged on the score of its heterogenousness, it was said, no matter how magnificent its projects might have been, how lofty the hopes excited by the opinion of its talents, or the liberality of its policy,—all vanished at the recollection that its ambition was moved by discordant springs;—nay more, it was said, that from such an *olla podrida* of a Cabinet,

THE CABINETS COMPARED,

&c.

CHAP. I.

Objections to the late Administration—Observations on Whiggism—Character of Mr. Canning—Extracts from his Speech in 1812 *in favour of Emancipation—Ditto from Mr. Ryder's on that occasion—Remarks on both, &c. &c. &c.*

THE principal objections to the late Administration were urged on the score of its heterogenousness, it was said, no matter how magnificent its projects might have been, how lofty the hopes excited by the opinion of its talents, or the liberality of its policy,—all vanished at the recollection that its ambition was moved by discordant springs;—nay more, it was said, that from such an *olla podrida* of a Cabinet,

founded as it was in the apostacy of public principles, and weakened by a discordance of private opinion, stability was hopeless; that both in theory and practice it violated the original purpose of all governments, which is *singleness* of council:—such was the substance of the argument. For my own part, I would say, that if in every other circumstance of life, the coalition of any number of persons, for a specific purpose, imply a fellowship of opinion, thoroughly matured, and fully understood by all the parties engaged, it would seem strange that in the greatest concern wherein the intellectual powers can be employed (the direction of the helm of the State), the ordinary modes of human judgment must be put in abeyance, and an opposite principle brought into operation, by which we are called upon to repose implicit faith in the efficacy of a political creed where there may exist an association of public men, not influenced by a community of public interest. From a coalition so based as the late Administration, it was likewise said the national honor had received a deep and lasting wound; and had not its dissolution taken place so sud-

denly, it would have become the duty of every loyal subject to have protested against its inefficiency, lest a precedent should be established by which apostacy and ambition would be mutually pledged, in order to shelter each other from the effects of public censure and indignation.

It was natural to apprehend, continued the argument, that men who agreed in nothing but their hostility to government before they obtained office, should afterwards betray a total unfitness to hold the reins of government: a similar fatality, it was said, had befallen the short-lived Administration of 1806, which owed its existence to the death of Mr. Pitt, and its dissolution to its own *inconsistency*,*—so the

* The act of *inconsistency* adverted to might be designated by a still more appropriate epithet, but *nil mortuis*, &c. &c. &c. It will be recollected that Mr. Fox had accepted office in 1800: upon that occasion an express assurance was required and given by him to the Prince of Wales, not to sanction the discussion of the Catholic Question in the Cabinet, inasmuch as it would be most painful to the feelings of the Royal Sovereign. The question was introduced notwithstanding, which gave such offence to the virtuous and upright monarch, that the Cabinet was speedily dissolved.

Cabinet of Mr. CANNING, which originated in the political demise of LORD LIVERPOOL, continued, it may be said, but four short months under the auspices of *Lord Goodrich.*

One may truly say, that with Mr. CANNING Whiggism had sunk into the tomb;—he, and he alone, by the great energies of his mind, sustained the tottering edifice: his mighty efforts kept the feeble walls of it together; but when the prop of his gigantic arm was withdrawn, it fell prostrate to the ground, and buried in its ruins the visionary hopes of its adherents; then might they say indeed—"What a fall was "there my countrymen, *when* I, and you, and "all of us, fell down, whilst bloody 'Torvism' "flourished over us."

Junius has said, "it is almost as criminal to "hear a worthy man traduced without at- "tempting his justification, as to be the author "of the calumny against him. It is in fact a "misprision of treason against society:"—with Junius I quite agree.

The official career of Mr. CANNING has been visited with much unmerited obloquy, much party censure: scurrillity has been substituted

for argument, assertion for fact:—wanton aspersions and unfounded calumnies were flung against him, and even when the grave had closed over his remains, the voice of detraction which assailed him whilst in life, still continued, with vulture-like rapacity, to feed on him in his clay-cold mansion.

Mr. CANNING, as a minister, perhaps had his faults: who ever was, and who is without them? His virtues were many—the energies of his mind were of gigantic structure—the extent of his political vision could only be measured by parallels of latitude; whilst the influence of his policy had become a light to nations to steer by. If we fairly estimate the endowments and qualities of his mind, we may justly consider him as one of the most memorable of men who have done honor to modern times.

He combined the discharge of the most arduous duties of his public life, with the attainments of that exact and various learning, which is generally the portion only of the recluse student—a philosopher deeply initiated, a statesman eminently gifted.

His wisdom enlightened, and his fancy illuminated—he possessed exclusively a species of moral gaiety that, like the magician, could bid the dullest theme vanish on the wings of unexpected wit. It has been objected to his policy, that it was too liberal consistent with the interests of the country whose councils he directed: but it ought to be remembered, Mr. CANNING was a great patriot, whose views of national freedom were enlarged beyond self, or country, opinion or creed, rank or profession, creating a policy suited to all, and to which he believed all were suited; and thereby influenced in his ministerial course by principles most consonant to magnanimity and freedom. If in this view his policy is questioned, still the rectitude and magnanimity of his heart must be admired. Moreover, Mr. CANNING was conspicuous for a clear, sound, unadulterated sense, not biassed by sinister designs or agitated by unruly passions, which gave dignity and consistency to all his measures. In opposition he respected the principles of government; in administration he laboured for the liberties of the people: his *moments* of power, which with

truth they may be called, were spent in realizing every thing he had promised in his popular situation. The virtues of his public and private life were not in him of different characters: it was the same feeling, benevolent, liberal mind, which in the internal relations of life conciliated the unfeigned love of all who knew him.

He was devoted to the cause of liberty; not that he was ambitious of obtaining power, but because he was beneficent and humane.

Mr. R. Grant, in alluding to the success of the British arms in favour of Portugal at the commencement of the present Session of Parliament, has so forcibly eulogized the talents of the great Statesman, that it would be an act of injustice to his memory not to give it a place here.

"Could that subject (meaning the successful interference of England in favour of Portugal) be mentioned without having the mind forcibly recalled to the memory of the distinguished individual by whom that movement had been planned and executed, and of whose policy it might be truly called a dying effort. In mentioning this topic, I am per-

" fectly certain, that whatever difference of
" opinion may have prevailed in respect of
" particular events, there will, I am sure, be
" but one feeling of affectionate regard for the
" memory of a Statesman who was for so
" many years the pride, delight and ornament
" of the British Senate.

" Providence fortunately preserved him for
" this last achievement: had reserved it for
" one, who had the wisdom to project, and the
" power to execute it.

" And though now removed from the con-
" troul of human events, history will insepara-
" bly associate his name with the renown of
" such a measure, and inscribe it upon the co-
" lumn destined to attest our national glory.
" Such a tribute is due to the mighty work
" which his genius, his discernment, his magi-
" cal voice brought into existence."

Mr. CANNING's state of health had been rapidly giving way under the accumulated pressure of official business previous to, and especially after, his appointment to the premiership.

The rancorous and bitter taunts of his

enemies thickened round him, like disasters and misfortunes over a sinking empire and a falling monarch. It soon resolved itself into a formidable conflict between a powerful aristocracy on one side, and the favoured minister of the Crown on the other.

Whatever advantage the former might have expected to derive from the high tone of dictation which was assumed on that occasion, I do not wish to inquire: the result of the experiment was not very flattering, and may serve to teach a wholesome lesson to all future servants of King George the Fourth, that neither length of service, nor force of talents, shall be held to justify any individual in an attempt to fetter the exercise of the kingly prerogative.

This vindication of the character of Mr. CANNING from unmerited obloquy, is as disinterested as it is gratuitous. The policy of concessions to the Roman Catholics, which Mr. CANNING had strenuously maintained, is in my mind dangerous to the best interests of the British Constitution. Moderation in politics is a virtue, but tenderness for Popery has of late

grown too fashionable. The wire-drawn doctrine of religious and civil toleration may be too much attenuated—and what to-day is called an effort in the cause of national freedom, may to-morrow prove a fatal encroachment on the Palladium of the Constitution. Let Great Britain take care how she throws away the shield, which the wisdom of her institutions has enabled her to hold over the head of her Church.—Let her not forget, that under this mighty ægis, she has gloriously combated the assaults of revolution and despotism—under this has she sat the arbitress of contented kingdoms—and by its protection alone can she safely hope to preserve the ascendency of her Protestant institutions. Had Mr. CANNING lived to behold the intemperance and folly which has recently characterized the proceedings of the Catholic Association, he would, like the prophet of old, who mourned over the fallen city, have lamented in tears their manifold sins and transgressions.

He, perhaps, would have argued with his conscience, and have said, "The time is now arrived when liberality in politics ceases to be

a virtue: it is no longer a question whether I, as GEORGE CANNING, am to maintain my political consistency by the advocacy of Catholic Emancipation, but whether under the most menacing shapes of evil coming from that body, when the existence of the Church, the State, and the constituted authorities of the country are threatened with danger,—I, as the first minister of the crown, can lay my hand upon my heart, and with honest feelings advocate the policy of a *protecting duty* upon treason, insubordination, and insurrection.—Shall I, as *first* Minister of the British Cabinet, advise the adoption of a measure which, in its progress to the doors of the Legislature, has been marked by faction and intemperance? Shall I, who have opposed Parliamentary Reform, because I believed it to be attended with danger to the country—who have resisted *sectarian* aggression for not less cogent reasons, I, who have supported the justice of leaving the question of Emancipation to stand upon its individual strength, unassisted by Cabinet influence;—shall I, who have done all this from rectitude of intention and liberal feelings, now

be found supporting with ministerial power the enactment of a measure which it is but too plain would effectually undermine the best bulwarks of the Constitution? No: I will not, I cannot do it. The language of the petitioners has assumed a tone of intimidating dictation, and threats of no equivocal description. When I advocated the justice of concession to the Roman Catholic claims, in the year 1812, I strongly relied on national expediency for so doing [here follows the substance of Mr. CANNING's argument on that occasion], and I reprobated the illiberal policy of shutting the doors of the constitution against six millions of His Majesty's Irish Roman Catholic subjects, because they adhered to the religion of their forefathers. I protested against the injustice of rejecting the petitions of such a mass of the Irish population whilst uttered in the tone of *temperance and moderation*. I ventured to assert, that if the Legislature in its wisdom had removed part of the burthen under which the petitioners had laboured, from a sense of the justice of their claims, it is for those who oppose further concessions to shew,

not the advantage and security which might have been derived from the continuance of the total disqualification of the Catholics—not the absolute incompatibility of any concessions to the petitioners with the safety of the Protestant Establishment (No, said Mr. Canning): what they have to shew is this, that the concessions already granted are at once safe for the Protestant Establishment, and necessary to satisfy the cravings which they are unquestionably calculated to excite in the Catholic mind."

Such is the substance of a portion of the argument used by the great advocate of civil and religious toleration.

Will any sober-minded man in the community not say there is an essential difference in the posture of affairs *then* and at the present time? Even on *that occasion*, it was not contended by Mr. CANNING that *unqualified* Emancipation was a measure which the Legislature could safely grant, without obtaining securities for the protection of the Protestant state. The utmost extent to which the motion of Mr. CANNING went was—"That the House would, "in the next Session of Parliament, take into

"its consideration the state of the laws as they "affected His Majesty's Roman Catholic "Subjects, with a view to such a final and "conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive "to the *peace* and *strength* of the *United* "Kingdom; to the *stability* of the *Protestant* "*Establishment*, and to the general *satisfac-* "*tion* and *concord* of all classes of His "Majesty's Subjects." But now the persons who have usurped the direction and management of Catholic affairs, have declared that any measure short of *unqualified* Emancipation will not be accepted. Some of the leading objections urged by the then supporters of the measure, were, that those who opposed concession *without securities* had not specified what those securities were; but it was not seriously contended, that without proper *restrictions* the claims of the petitioners could be granted. It was chiefly complained the hardship imposed by the argument which asked for securities, because they were *deemed expedient* for the safety of the state, but declined particularising what they considered the nature of them in that respect. Mr. RYDER's remarks

upon that occasion cannot here be considered irrelevant; they contain the very essence of the principle of true Emancipation, and which I trust to see fully realized in the way hoped for by that gentleman. "He hoped (said Mr. "Ryder) the time would come when the "Roman Catholics would *emancipate* them-"selves from *spiritual domination*—THEN, he "conceived every disability ought and would "be done away, and he would be most willing "to assist in carrying the necessary measures "into effect. But while the Pope exerted an "influence over the Bishops, while the Bishops "exerted an influence over the Priesthood, and "while the Priesthood in their turn exerted an "*influence* over the great body *of the* people, "he did not think it *safe* to grant the required "immunities.

"The power of the Pope did not, as some "gentlemen had contended, extend only to "mere speculative principles. The rights of "marriage, of legitimacy, and a variety of "others were effected by it. And that power "was supported by excommunication, in which "the civil rights of every individual subject

"to it, were involved. So long as the Roman "Catholic had not freed himself from that "foreign and hostile authority, the Protestant "religion in Ireland, in the event of conceding "to him that which he demanded, *could not* "*be safe;* nor, looking at the subject in an "extended view, could the *Protestant estab-* "*lishment in this country.*"

I do perfectly coincide with Mr. RYDER'S view of the subject. I do firmly believe some of the leading causes of the real grievances lie in the religious errors of the Roman Catholics. Afford them spiritual relief from the fountains of the *living waters*, and you grant them *true emancipation.* By this you rescue them from the thraldom of priestcraft, and from the errors of irreligion. By this you open their benighted understandings, and when once they have felt the influence of the sacred truths, then you may concede every temporal benefit they ask for; because they would be then found followers of the *true Christian religion*, whose precepts *are in accordance* with the constitution of these realms. To try any other course but THIS, is to indulge a visionary hope, unwarranted by the past—a

hope that never will be realized: a chimera of flimsy politicians, who administer a few of their nostrums to give the patient temporary ease, but effectually entail on him the miseries of incurability. It is time to abandon such temporising measures, common justice to the sufferers demands it, and the voice of Christianity calls for it.

CHAP. II.

History of the Catholic Association—The Catholic Rent—Inducements held out to the Contributors—Penalties of Refusal—Its mischievous Tendency—Parallel between it and the Fund collected in the Year 1798—Embezzlement of that Fund.

HERE let me turn the attention of the reader to the Catholic Association. This assembly of persons is indebted to a kind of jesuitical evasion of the law for its existence. It exercises powers which properly belong to the Imperial Parliament; it presents a kind of fungus of monstrous size, the growth of defective legislation. This assembly is chiefly composed of a factious few; self-called to the dangerous office they exercise; not amenable to any controul, or subject to any power, PROFESSING to conduct the business of Roman Catholic politics, but effectually usurping powers hostile to the interests of the constitution.

Its proceedings are calculated to rouse the worst passions in the lower orders; every topic is introduced by these declaimers to disturb the peace and good order of society: there is not an excitement to popular rage, not a figure of libel, not a phrase of fixed malignity against the Government and constituted authorities of the country which might not be found in the speeches of these incendiaries.—The Catholics are encouraged to bear in mind their *physical* power; they are continually reminded of the irresistible nature of six *millions* of people marching to the doors of Parliament, and demanding to be admitted; and if refused, that still they have the consolation to know, they possess a strength which, if properly directed, might *compel* the Legislature to yield that to force which they have denied to Justice. Lest the people might become excited to commit acts of open violence, they are exhorted in the same breath, by way of a redeeming quality, to observe obedience to the laws and respect for the constitution. What reprobation is too strong for such hypocrisy? What instance of political

duplicity can be adduced of a more pernicious tendency?

An ambitious set of Demagogues is seen actively engaged to-DAY in exciting a furious spirit of insubordination, and *to-morrow* they affect an anxiety to extinguish the flame they had kindled. Is not such conduct the bane of social order, and national tranquillity? This is the *fell spirit* which has pervaded so large a portion of the Irish population. How melancholy the change it has produced—a change, comparatively speaking, from order to disorder, from tranquillity to disturbance.

By *this*, is the natural confidence of the people in the state weakened—by *this*, the honest allegiance which flows spontaneously from the Irish heart to its beloved Sovereign is arrested—by *this*, the local magistracy of the country is deteriorated in the estimation of the people—by *this*, the valuable relationship between landlords and tenants is destroyed—by *this*, the resistance to the payment of tithes is encouraged—nay more, the purity and freedom of election is tainted—undue influence is exercised over men's consciences—and even

the sacred duties of the Romish Priesthood are considered to be most piously discharged, when in *the act* of encouraging *their flocks* to *acts of ingratitude* and the *basest defection*.

In this way the sacred badge of sacerdotal dignity has been displayed at the very altar, for the enlistment of defaulting tenants against their landlords; the just rights of Protestant landholders have been thus defeated; and to complete the work of disorganization, supplies are furnished from the Catholic Rent to the litigious and revolting tenantry.

Here I would beg leave to turn the watchful eye of a superintending Legislature to the adoption of some measure for the annihilation of this fund; it is full time for Parliament to lay to *the axe*, and *cut it down*, and *cast it into the fire*; it never *has produced* good *fruit*, and *never* will.

A fund under a different denomination, but for purposes not very dissimilar, had been formed previous to the rebellion of 1798 in Ireland; the management of it was confined to a few private individuals, with whom loyalty constituted no essential qualification to dis-

charge the trust: indeed the result proved it, for some of that Treasury were hanged for disaffection, and others sent into transatlantic banishment, doubtless as a merciful commutation for a more ignominious punishment.

During their official superintendence of the Treasury, however, the "*auri sacra fames*" had not been wanting: and after the foul spirit of rebellion had been sufficiently punished, and time had cast a veil of oblivion over the crimes of the disaffected, some, who had survived the miseries of expatriation, petitioned the Government for liberty to return and resettle in their native city, where they now are opulent in the extreme, and said to have become so by the adhesion of the precious metals to their fingers during the period of their *honorable* treasurership.

How far the present managers of the Catholic Rent may be tempted to follow such a PRECEDENT, it may not perhaps be very difficult to foretel—example is contagious: they are but men, so were their predecessors in office. Gold in all ages has had its influence; states and statesmen have yielded to its power;

patriotism has been bought, sold, and bartered. Is the principle of adhesion, I would ask, between the precious metals, and the *fingers* through which they pass, less in the holders of the Catholic Rent, than it was in the disloyal Exchequer of 1798? Does the law which sanctions no principle of action to recover back money *thus deposited*, increase or *diminish* the inclination to retain it?

The solution of this question is not difficult. —I only hope that the fact of spoliation committed by the honorable Bankers of 1798, may serve as a warning to the subscribers of the Catholic Rent of 1828.—I would earnestly entreat every person who has supported, or may hereafter support this fund, to recollect the embezzlement that disgraced the Treasury of 1798. The means adopted, in some instances, for the collection of this Rent, are disgraceful. Let the reader only imagine a poor wretched peasant, with a large family, eking out a miserable existence, derived from manual labour and low wages, called upon by the Priest of his parish to subscribe a portion of his scanty earnings towards the fund, called

the "Catholic Rent;" and in case of refusal, or inability to pay, *it matters not which*, to be threatened with the *eternal* hostility of the pious Father; and other gainful consequences, spiritual and temporal.

If the person called upon for his subscription be inclined to pay, he naturally enquires for what purpose the money is to be applied. Whereupon he is answered:—"If your Land-"lord distrain, out of the Catholic Rent you "will be enabled to litigate the proceeding: "if the parson should enforce the payment of "tithe, by the RENT you will be protected: if "you should vote against the will of your "landlord, to whom you happen to be over "head and ears indebted, and be afterwards "ejected for non-payment, you will be sup-"plied with funds to enable you to take "another farm under a *more* indulgent land-"lord, and to purchase for it the necessary "stock." Such are among the reasons given to the deluded Irish peasantry, to induce them to subscribe to the Catholic Rent. Some of the more independent classes willingly contribute their quota—and the present enormous

amount of this *capitation* tax, is a tolerable proof of the success of the contrivance. How long it is to continue in operation, I leave to be answered by the Right Hon. Secretary for the Home Department.

CHAP. III.

Vote of the Catholic Association against the present Administration in January, 1828 — Its real object developed — Exhortation to the loyal classes of the Empire — Speech delivered in the House of Lords this Session — Its tendency to diminish the Friends of Emancipation — Sentiments of the Marquis of Wellesley in the year 1812, on the conduct of the Catholic Demagogues — Comments, &c.

The next object of attention which I would willingly present to the reader, is the vote of the Catholic Association assembled in January last. The motion was made by Mr. O'CONNELL — I say this vote becomes a fit subject for observation here, forasmuch as it furnishes a most satisfactory clue to guide our judgment in discovering the real views of the Catholic demagogues; and the more, as it has been attended with results which doubtless will prove more

beneficial to the welfare of Ireland than legislative interference by coercive measures.

I do sincerely hope that every loyal subject in the British Empire will be awakened by this Resolution from apathy and indifference. The views of that factious assembly are no longer equivocal; by the Resolution in question they are fully developed. To a certain Noble Lord, not less distinguished for his honest support of civil and religious liberty, than for the important services rendered to his country, the British nation must ever remain indebted. The speech of the MARQUIS of LONDONDERRY, wherein he declared his sentiments on the resolution adverted to, is worthy of the highest consideration. I hope the example of the Noble Lord will be followed—I trust to see the indignation of every honest man in the Legislature expressed as fully as that of the Noble Lord's. Let him who vibrates between a valueless consistency in his politics, and his support of the principles of the constitution, no longer hesitate to *which* he ought to incline. Political consistency taken in one sense is a virtue, in the other a vice—because he that pursues the line

of party spirit in opposition to the true *interests* of his country, not only weakens the cause he intends to strengthen, but contributes to the injury meditated upon the bulwarks of the state.

Lest I should innocently incur the charge of misrepresenting the Resolution of Mr. O'CONNELL, I will give it verbatim, and also the speech of LORD LONDONDERRY, wherein he reprobated its intemperance.

At a meeting of the Catholic Association, held January, 1828, it was moved by Mr. O'CONNELL as follows:—

"Resolved, that we feel it *a duty we owe to Ireland*, to call the Counties, Cities, Towns, and Parishes of Ireland to come to the following Resolution, that any Irish Member of the Imperial Parliament who gives his support, *directly* or *indirectly*, to the new administration of which the DUKE OF WELLINGTON is the head, is *undeserving* of the *confidence* of the Irish people."

This was followed by a call made on the part of Mr. LAWLESS, another of the Association, upon the different counties, cities, towns, and

parishes of Ireland, to meet, as soon as convenient, and to adopt the *spirit* of the above Resolutions. Strenuous for the Resolution and Amendments of Messrs. O'Connell and Lawless.

HOUSE OF LORDS, FEB. 1, 1828.

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY rose and said,

"My Lords, I wish to say a very few words "on a subject of considerable importance—a "matter connected with the conduct and pro- "ceedings of His Majesty's Roman Catholic "subjects in Ireland. I shall endeavour to "approach the subject to which I am about "to call your Lordships' attention with cau- "tion, and to treat it with that forbearance "which a sense of its great delicacy and "importance, and a feeling of the deference "due to your Lordships, calls for.—

"My Lords, as a *friend* to my Roman "Catholic fellow-subjects, and as a *well wisher* "to their cause (so long as they prosecute it "by *fair* and *legitimate* means), I feel it quite "impossible to *stand by* in silence, while I see

"the public journals of this country and of
"Ireland teeming with *extravagant* and *mon-*
"*strous* propositions, like one I now hold in
"my hand, which purports to be a resolution
"agreed to by certain persons assembled at a
"meeting, *assuming* to itself to represent the
"sentiments and feelings of the Roman Ca-
"tholics of Ireland.

"It is in your Lordships' recollection, that
"no long time has elapsed since a Bill intro-
"duced into Parliament for the *avowed pur-*
"*pose* of putting down the Roman Catholic
"Association, passed through both Houses,
"and received the sanction of all branches
"of the Legislature. Your Lordships are
"also aware that, notwithstanding the passing
"of that Act, the Roman Catholic Associa-
"tion still exists, in *direct opposition to its*
"*provisions*, and in *spite* of all the *enactions*
"made to extinguish it. My Lords, that body
"not only exists, but the resolutions it is in
"the habit of passing are so *strong* in their
"terms, and so *offensive* in their tendency
"(more especially that particular one to which
"I have just adverted), that it is impossible

" I should not allude to them as I am now
" about to do.
" I here protest, that if I could believe for a
" single moment that this is the *resolution* of
" His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in
" Ireland, I, as *one* of their friends, should
" immediately be obliged to declare, that in-
" stead of seeing ground for hope, in the sure,
" though gradual advancement of their cause,
" I perceived strong reason to fear it was
" *retrograding*, in consequence of their own
" violence and imprudence.
" I said the *very* same things, my Lords, two
" years ago, when I spoke from the other side
" of the House.
" I declared if the Roman Catholics at-
" tempted to carry their object by *violence*
" and *intimidation*—if they endeavoured to
" attain the political privileges they sought for
" by those *means*, rather than by relying upon
" the *effect* of time, and a *general change* of
" sentiment among the people of this *country*
" *in their* favour; if they adopted the former
" of those, I declared my intentions to oppose
" them to the utmost of my ability his [Lord

"ship here read the resolutions which have been
"already laid before the readers, and con-
"tinued. My Lords, I grant you this is an
"impotent declaration, but it should be ex-
"tended to us, putting aside the ability, as
"fair evidence of the *disposition* of its authors;
"and we are aware there are many ignorant
"people in Ireland on whom resolutions may
"have *mischievous* influence, if it is to be
"sent abroad as the *resolution* of the *Roman*
"*Catholics of Ireland*. For my own part, I
"believe, nay I am satisfied, that the Roman
"Catholics of Ireland yield to none of their
"fellow subjects in loyalty and devotion to
"their Sovereign. Such, my Lords, is my
"opinion, and I am far from considering the
"obnoxious resolution as *the act of the*
"*Roman Catholics*. If it had proceeded from
"*them*, or if it could be proved to speak *their*
"*sentiments*, sure I am that *no measures*
"within the power of their *enemies* to adopt,
"could more effectually *injure* and retard
"*their* cause.

"My Lords, I have taken an early oppor-
"tunity of making this public declaration of

" my sentiments on the subject of a resolution
" so grave and so called for, and I sincerely
" hope every one of your Lordships, whatever
" may be his sentiments on the subject of the
" Roman Catholic claims, will join me in re-
" probating the proceeding. I have only to
" repeat, if such proceedings are permitted to
" continue, instead of advancing the claims of
" the Roman Catholics, their inevitable ten-
" dency will be to cause them to *retrograde*.
" Resolutions such as these can have no other
" effect, than to imbitter the enemies and *alien-*
" *ate* the friends of the Roman Catholics. I
" sincerely hope conduct of this description
" may not be persisted in."

Such is the warning voice of the MARQUIS of LONDONDERRY. I trust it will prove so before it be too late. His Lordship calls the resolution "impotent;" perhaps in one sense it is—threats, generally speaking, are idle, but this is more than a threat—it is an unjustifiable denunciation of the government in which the DUKE of WELLINGTON and Mr. PEEL are the leaders; it is, in addition to this, an *insult offered* to the Kingly prerogative, which, in its

just exercise, has selected *those distinguished characters* to be the leaders of the administration. Furthermore, it *covertly* conveys a charge of *insincerity against our Gracious* Monarch, who, on all occasions, and particularly whilst Ireland gave such *unequivocal* manifestations of his good wishes towards his Roman Catholic subjects, and his willingness to ameliorate their distressed condition, when the proper time arrived, yet, in despite of these assurances, it imputes to His Majesty a selection of the most *inveterate enemies* to their claims to *preside* in the councils of the empire.

The inference is too plain to admit of doubt; but now let us advert to the *impolicy* of the resolution in question.—I have said it was insulting; I now say it is impolitic. Let us suppose, for argument, the DUKE of WELLINGTON should propose for the consideration of the Legislature, a measure for the relief of the distressed peasantry of Ireland; according to this undiscriminating resolution, every supporter of that proposition would come under the censure of the Catholic population, so that the friends of the Irish Roman Catholics would be treated

as their worst enemies. I defy the ablest advocate of the junto to get rid of the monstrous inconsistency which is involved in this *patriotic* resolution.

In a question merely political, an honest man may stand neuter, but I doubt if even neutrality would protect the individual. This resolution admits of no choice—it allows of no distinction—it is the very acme of impolicy and indiscriminate censure—it wars with every principle of common policy, and wounds with a *double edge* both friend and foe;—in a word, if the junto had been devising the most effectual means for the disclosure of their own inefficiency to manage Catholic affairs, they could not have blundered upon a more striking instance than the vote in question. It will remain a record in the books of the Catholic Association, to prove *three* things; first, the factious *designs of the Association* itself; secondly, the serious injury done to the cause of Emancipation; and lastly, the utter incapability of the Catholic junto to manage the affairs of the Irish Roman Catholics.

As another proof (though anterior in point

of time) of the injury done at that period to the cause of the Roman Catholics, by the persons who had assumed the direction of their affairs, I will give the sentiments of Marquis Wellesley, delivered in the House on the motion of Earl Fitzwilliam for inquiring into the conduct of the Irish Government, in instituting prosecutions under the Convention Act. The motion was debated in January, 1812. The noble Marquis, after stating the object of the Legislature in passing that statute, and combating the arguments of the noble mover, said, "Had the noble Earl proved, that the Government of Ireland had endeavoured to frustrate the claims of the Catholics, or to prejudice the cause of that respectable body, by checking the *precipitate career* of those who *managed, or rather* MISMANAGED that great cause in Ireland? *No greater injury could be offered* to that cause, than by *presenting it to the Sovereign* or to the *Legislature* in the *odious form of a wanton violation* of the *law, an outrage* upon the *legal authority* of the *Crown and the State*, and an *insult upon the established government of the country*.

The *greatest* enemy to the Roman Catholics of Ireland could not *clothe their petitions in a garb more* REPULSIVE. *An illegal convention was not the* NATURAL PARENT *of a respectful petition.* The Lord Lieutenant had therefore acted most amicably towards the Catholics, as well as most prudently towards the State, when his Grace had advised their leaders to relinquish the *insane* project of petitioning by *convention*, and to resort to the ancient ways of the law and constitution, consecrated by the usage of ages, and leading to the venerable fabric of liberty and order. The *Government of Ireland* also *deserved* well of the *Catholics*, for having *enforced the law* against *their leaders*, and for having by law abolished an assembly, which could not have continued without *exciting just alarm* in every loyal and *patriotic* breast, and without involving the character of that representative body to which they have entrusted their affairs.

Such were the sentiments of one of the most enlightened statesmen of ancient or modern times, and one of the truest friends of civil and religious toleration. He (to use his own

"words on that occasion) approached the *interesting* cause of the Roman Catholics, with a solicitude for its success which could not be surpassed by the ardour of the noble Earl. From the *first* dawn of his reason to the present hour, his anxiety for the *effectual* relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland had been the warm sentiment of his heart, confirmed and animated by successive experience and reflection, and by the deliberate exercise of his judgment, not unaccustomed to the practical consideration of great affairs of state; he was *born, bred,* and *educated* in these principles of *rational liberty,* equally remote from *intolerant bigotry,* and from *licentious disregard of established order:* he had always supported every former proposal for the relief of the Roman Catholics: if for a moment, in a period of peculiar and extraordinary embarrassment, he had suspended the active exertions of his opinion on the subject, the suspence had been to him most painful and irksome."

Such was the opinion entertained by the MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY of the management of

Catholic affairs in 1812. Can the reader perceive any grounds for distinguishing between that period and the present? In my mind the conduct of Catholic affairs now, is marked by more intemperance than at the former period. In 1812, the main object of the Association, or Catholic Committee, as it was then denominated, was to elude the statute called the Convention Act, by petitions technically shaped for the purpose, but effectually violating the provisions of that enactment; whereas the Catholic Association *now* and for some time, have not only contrived to evade the law by jesuitical and special pleading contrivances, but they have launched out into every species of insult against private and public characters; arraigned the most exalted individuals in the country at the bar of their assembly; and without hearing their defence have affixed on them the stamp of condemnation. *State Affairs, Administrations, Prime Ministers, Chief Governors, Chancellors, Secretaries, Judges, cum multis aliis*, are all dragged before this factious and intolerant inquisition. Whether my LORD WELLESLEY, like another friend to Emancipation,—

LORD LONDONDERRY, will adopt a similar course in 1828 to what he had done in 1812, I will not pretend to say; but if his Lordship's sentiments are to be *further influenced* by the conduct of the Association for the *time* it came more immediately under his *official observation*, I cannot conceive it possible, unless upon some species of unaccountable inconsistency to which I am a total stranger, and not less so the MARQUIS of WELLESLEY, I am sure his Lordship cannot support the expediency of any further concessions of political power to a class of persons [illegible] by a body characterised by want of affection for the government, respect for the laws, and a systematic warfare against exalted rank, worth, and [illegible] a set of men who anxiously keep alive that half-suffocated antipathy which exists in some parts of Ireland to Church Government, and the Government of the country, and which is only kept in check by the strong arm of the law.

CHAP. IV.

The insult offered to the Duke of York during his Illness by one of the Association—Remarks on that Speech, and on the Orator.

I WILL here willingly take leave of the Catholic Association, but their proceedings on another occasion have been marked by an act of such singularly wanton insult to exalted rank and private worth, that it is impossible to pass it over.

During the illness which afflicted the ever-to-be-lamented DUKE OF YORK, a leading character of the Catholic Association adverted to the sufferings of His Royal Highness in language unfeeling and insulting.

There was something in the *time* chosen, and in the indignity offered, which partook strongly of the malice of a Jesuit rejoicing over the afflictions of a political opponent, and feasting, with a rapturous voracity, upon the exhibition

of a few peccadilloes, which a generous nation had long before buried in oblivion. Such a man has neither a heart to feel for the sufferings, or to allow for the frailties of his fellow-mortals—their virtues are a source of affliction to him, their vices a consolation. What a *jaundiced* mind, what an obliquity of man's noblest nature—what a *stunted growth* of all that is amiable in humanity, does such a being present—a complete *diminutive* in heart, but a full-grown giant in malignity!

A great author has said, in the shipwreck of a state trifles float and are preserved, while every thing *solid* and *valuable* sinks "to the *bottom* and is *lost for ever*." I have known bigots in politics, and infidels in religion, united in the same persons, but I never knew them wanting in manliness and generosity towards their political advocates in the hour of affliction.

I know full well, a man who from *honest* motives engages in a public cause, must prepare himself for events which will at once demand his utmost patience, and raise his warm indignation; but I will ask, was the

illness of His Royal Highness to be fixed upon as the *most fitting* opportunity for a display of brutality and insult? Was it manly, was it decent, to draw aside the curtains of his sick bed in order to expose the illustrious sufferer to the insults and revilings of a drunken mob, and vulgar gaze?

It is true, the arrows of calumny and undeserved abuse wound not—it is true, the breast fraught with conscious rectitude feels not the shaft of envy; but is the brutality of the insult the less in proportion as the dignity of the object is the greater? The effort of the *assassin* may prove harmless, but the *criminal* intent stands unjustified and unexpiated.

CHAP. V.

Comments on the Speech of Mr. Vesey Stuart delivered this Session—its impolitic tendency in respect to Catholic Emancipation—Rights of the Juvenile Senation &c. &c. &c.

I CONFESS, with me it is a subject of deep regret, to find a gentleman who represents a principal southern county in Ireland, promoting in his support to the question of Catholic Emancipation, in a way neither dignified nor temperate. The return of Mr. Vesey Stuart for the County of Waterford was marked with outrage and disorder—the peace of the County was trampled upon during his election—and the principal disturbers of it were the priesthood, which, and much more, ought not to be forgotten by that gentleman.

But you, like charity, hideth a multitude of sins, and I would strongly advise the juvenile

aspirant to popular fame, to acquire a just notion of *true patriotism*, before he ventures his slender bark upon the great sea of politics. A little learning is a dangerous thing, it is said; but in my mind a *little talent* is still more dangerous—and though willing to admit the independence of his principles, I cannot so easily excuse the rashness of his conduct. It is not to be supposed (I now speak figuratively) he would tamely submit to become the parliamentary mouth-piece of a desperate and factious set of Demagogues—that he would condescend to *bind* himself to support the political creed of the Catholic Association, in order to secure future patronage, and to requite *past services*.

MASTER STUART has just entered upon the world of politics with an air of popularity usually accompanying young men, but which they seldom preserve—a little modesty, and a little prudence, would perhaps not be highly to his disadvantage. He ought to recollect that the favour of the democracy is a *perishable* commodity—to bear in mind there is a debt due to those who come after us—and it will then him

torian's office to punish though he cannot correct.

Here I would ask, whether it is less dishonorable to be the creature of a court than the tool of a faction. Perhaps the true notion of patriotism is perverted by the præcocity of juvenile ambition:—lest Mr. VILLIERS STUART might not know, or if he had learned, might have forgotten what that term signifies, I will give the definition of it for his edification and, I trust, improvement. "A patriot is he whose "public conduct is regulated by one single "motive,—*the love of his country*:—who, as "an agent in Parliament, has for himself neither *hope nor fear*, neither kindness nor "*resentment*, but refers every thing to the "common interest."

My observations on this part of the subject shall be concluded by comparing the theory of the Honorable Member's patriotism with his practice.

It is admitted on all hands, that the Members of the present Cabinet, who held office in the administration of LORD LIVERPOOL, fully enjoyed the confidence of the country, and it was

stated by Mr. Tierney, whose *golden reign* was but transitory, with a degree of candour highly praiseworthy (though the part he had taken for the circumvention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared of a different character), that "when His Majesty found *an incurable discord*—when he found that one "Minister was endeavouring to overthrow or "annoy the other, as he believed His Majesty "did, then, indeed, it was high time for him "to call in some person in whose *firmness* he "could repose confidence, and charge him "with the formation of a new Government." After other observations strongly reprobatory of the discontent and disunion which prevailed in the late Cabinet, he continued—"He (Mr. Tierney,) would not say he reposed "entire confidence in the present Ministers, "but this he would say, that scarcely any "change from the late Government could have "been for the worse [*loud cheering.*]—He "supposed (continued Mr. Tierney,) he should "not be believed, if he said, *he was glad it "had blown up, but he must say it* was high "time something should have been done with

it. [*cheers.*] It is manifest, therefore, the Administration to which the veteran Whig belonged, must have crumbled into atoms even had it not been attempted to place LORD ALTHORPE in the Chair of Finance, and to seat LORD HOLLAND in the Cabinet. Thus we have the inefficiency of the late Cabinet admitted by one of its members, and the just necessity for its dissolution acknowledged. Whilst as to the confidence of the nation in the present Administration, there is, I believe, but one opinion. Their abilities to discharge their official duties are not more eminent than the *rectitude* of their hearts, and *honesty* of their intentions.

Why Mr. VILLERS STUART should have made such a premature and indiscriminate denunciation of his hostility against the Government, remains for him to account for. In the Administration which he supported, Catholic Emancipation was *not made* a *Cabinet* question—it stood *then* as *now*, supported by individual aid—and ought to continue so;—but that every measure of the present Government should be met with his hostility, with the same *indis-*

crimination, as the vote of censure on it by *Messrs.* O'CONNELL and LAWLESS, I am at a loss to account for. Does not this prove the theory of his patriotism, and the practice of it, equally injudicious?

When the question for the *suppression* of the *Catholic Association* shall come before Parliament, the expediency of which is admitted by every person who desires the connection between England and Ireland to be permanent, I trust, in the spirit of atonement, he will give it his strenuous support, and bear in mind, that the best service he can render his country, is to contribute his aid for the *extinguishment* of a set of politicians whose object is to augment, instead of to allay, the discontents of their Roman Catholic brethren.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Spring Rice—His arguments in support of the Legality of the Catholic Association—Allusions to him whilst in the Home Department—Vote of Confidence in the Administration, under which he held Office, by the Catholic Convention—Curious Coincidence—Speech of the Earl of Roden—His sentiments corroborative of Lord Londonderry's—Undue influence of the Roman Catholic Priests at the last Election for the County of Louth—Remarks on the Evils resulting from it—Comments, &c. &c.

THE name of Mr. SPRING RICE is naturally introduced here; the consistency of his sentiments upon the subject of Emancipation has been proved, and his support of that measure by no means ineffective; but his argument in favour of the legality of the *Association* is

encountered by rather an awkward opponent, formidable when opposed to mere theory, namely, a simple fact.

Mr. SPRING RICE was Assistant Secretary in the Home Department, when a vote was passed expressive of the confidence which the Catholic Association entertained of the wisdom and liberal policy of that administration, and it is a curious coincidence, that on the morning of that day, the Secretary for Ireland, Mr. LAMB, felt himself called upon to signify to the Magistrates of Dublin, the necessity of their vigilance to preserve the peace of the metropolis. The narrative of the above circumstance appeared in the respectable journals of that day; so that a meeting of the Catholic Association was held to eulogize the administration, but in a way manifesting such symptoms of disorder, that it became expedient to ensure the public tranquillity by the interference of the civil authorities. To what extent the Ex-assistant Secretary is bound in gratitude for an honor *so conferred*, I do not know. Whether it will have the effect of increasing his efforts in their behalf, is equally dubious:

but as a test to try his intentions by, I would ask Mr. SPRING RICE, what he would have thought of a vote of a meeting of persons held in England under similar circumstances. Here it would have been his duty, as it was Mr. LAMB'S in Dublin, to have called in aid the power of the magistracy for the purpose of keeping the peace. Suppose an inquiry had been instituted in Parliament upon the expediency of such a proceeding, and the then Assistant Secretary called upon to justify his official conduct, in what a ludicrous point of view he must have appeared: sure I am, all the tact of Mr. SPRING RICE could not extricate him from the dilemma. Can there be imagined a more distressing situation for an official character to be placed in? a struggle between gratitude to his friends, the disturbers, on the one hand, and the obligation of public duty on the other:—in such a case, who (amongst his friends) would not sympathise with the object of such embarrassment, and regret the hour he had ever supported the measures of a party disgraced by so much intemperance and duplicity.

Mr. SPRING RICE has contended for the legality of the Catholic Association, forasmuch as the law has not been able to suppress it. True it is, the arm of the law has not been able to reach it; but I would refer Mr. SPRING RICE to a passage in the speech of LORD LONDONDERRY, already adverted to, and request his serious consideration of it. His Lordship said, "That if the Legislature had it in contemplation to adopt any measure for the amelioration of the people of Ireland, he knew of none so effectual as the *suppression* of the Catholic Association."

The opinion of LORD LONDONDERRY is entitled to important weight in Parliament, when it is recollected that his Lordship's estates are situate in that part of Ireland most conspicuous for the industry, loyalty, and religious habits of the people, and for obedience to the law and attachment to the constitution. If his Lordship have spoken from information calculated to excite his apprehensions for the future tranquillity of those districts, how much stronger must be his fear when the conduct of the

population (as in the south of Ireland) has been marked with outrage and disorder? Lord Londonderry has promised to satisfy the House, when the inquiry shall take place, that it is expedient for the tranquillization of Ireland to *suppress* the Catholic Association, and *abolish* the Catholic Rent; but whether the observations of his Lordship were intended to apply to the north or to the south, to the east or to the west of Ireland, it matters not here; feverish symptoms have appeared, and look as if the disorder was coming to a crisis. The existence of such an assembly is deeply to be lamented, when its proceedings are reviewed, and its mischievous designs calmly considered; holding, as it does, its meetings in defiance of the law, and flinging indiscriminate censure upon the most exalted characters in the state.

How long the forbearing arm of the Legislature is to remain suspended, I know not; but there is a limit at which forbearance must cease to be a virtue, and that is when mild and conciliatory measures but augment the evil and incur a responsibility for the consequences

such as no minister could justify, no monarch approve. The coquetry of cabinets has sometimes produced most *untoward* events; there is not, however, any thing to be apprehended from the present administration on that head. I am satisfied ministers will deem it their duty to apply some remedy to remove this evil; *this nuisance must be abated;* temporizing measures will fall short of attaining the essential object, and an *opposite* course to this *must* be resorted to. But punishment of crime is not the exclusive object of its infliction; let it be remembered always that the most valuable interests of a free state are its *laws* and constitution—these only can be permanent so long as they oppose a firm resistance to the united efforts of faction and ambition; for though the former may not always appear in front, it will in the end take advantage of success, and convert it to the worst of purposes.

Another Noble Lord (the EARL of RODEN), whose efforts to promote the spiritual regeneration of the followers of irreligion, have been marked with an unabated zeal worthy of his

pious habits, has designated the Catholic Association to be of the most "*mischievous tendency.*"

That Noble Lord must have had an opportunity of knowing the melancholy effects of the influence exercised by the priests over their flocks previous to the last election for the county of Louth. To one of his exemplary religious principles it proved, I am sure, most distressing to hear, that the altars of holy worship were not always approached solely to promulgate the doctrines of christianity, but to encourage the peasantry to acts not strictly according with the duty and obligations they owed their landlord. Unfortunately for the peace of the country, this practice was not confined to the county of Louth. The evidence given before committees in two cases of contested returns, put this matter beyond dispute.

CHAP. VII.

Petition of the Catholic Association for the repeal of the Statute against Subletting of Lands in Ireland—Its impolicy—The evils therein created previous to the passing of that Act—The necessity of their removal—Description of a Middle-man in Ireland—Advice to Landlords—Abolition of Forty Shilling Freeholds—Comments, &c.

HAVING adverted to some of the most prominent acts of the Catholic Association, in order to expose their mischievous tendency, I would entreat the attention of the reader for a few moments to another instance of the ill-advised proceedings of that Convention.

A petition from that body has been presented to Parliament, praying for a repeal of the statute against subletting of lands in Ireland.

Now, the principal object of the Legislature

in passing that Act, was to remove a serious evil: the cause of that evil, it may be said, was confined to two classes of persons—and the remedy applied, was by restraining the immediate tenant from subletting his farm in smaller portions against *the will* of his landlord; that was the great evil—this the remedy. In many parts of Ireland, a custom had prevailed among the farming class, when the elder male branches of a family intermarried, that the tenant allotted a certain quantity of his farm *to* be occupied by his married children, subject to the payment of a rent in proportion to that reserved in his lease—a very laudable act, no doubt. Hence, however, the occupants of the soil were multiplied, and the rent originally payable by *one* person, became afterwards the contribution of several. When the tenant failed in payment, the landlord, according to the law of ejectment in that country, was under the necessity of making *every person residing* on the farm in the *most* abject *condition* of a tenancy a party to the proceeding; if he omitted any, he could not obtain judgment for the recovery of it;

this operated a serious grievance to the land proprietor, as it created a horde of pauper occupants of the land, in despite of the will of the landlord, and compelled him to acknowledge them in that character, at an additional expence incurred in law costs, before his proceedings could be rendered effectual.

The other class of persons who have augmented this evil, are known in Ireland by the name of *middle-men*. A person of this description, generally speaking, has acquired some wealth by dealing in cattle, provisions, or in the manufacture of agricultual produce, exkort of grain, &c. &c. in the great provincial towns. Thus enriched, he feels an ambition, quite peculiar to his class, to become what in Ireland is termed an "*Estated man*." The motive in theory is commendable, but it often proves ruinous in practice; as the individual is found injudiciously abandoning trade at the time he could have derived the greatest advantage from it, by the revolution of an accumulated capital.

He becomes the proprietor of large tracts of land, which in some instances have been

obliged from a distressed land-owner, considerably under the value: the land thus acquired is subdivided into small farms, and let for short terms, subject to the payment of a rent three-fourths greater than that originally reserved, thereby affording the *prospect* of an income to the middle-man equal to the difference between it and the rent he was subject to. The land-jobber, with *this* rent-roll in his pocket, which he *fatally mistakes* for the actual *income* itself, is attracted by the gaieties of novelty to visit foreign parts,—in fact to become a fashionable absentee; his extravagance impairs his income, even had it not been quite so ideal: to satisfy his immediate wants, he oppresses his tenantry, their stock of cattle, hay, corn, &c. is ordered to be sold, to supply the exigencies of their landlord. To prevent this, the tenant sacrifices a part in order to preserve the remainder; a sale at the next fair or market follows, the proceeds are remitted to the absentee, and his wants temporarily supplied. All this time arrears of *head* rent are accumulating, the chief or head landlord is left unpaid, and consequently has become

to the landlord, again, the poor despairing tenant, who has already paid his rent, is threatened with an immediate sale of the remnant of his property, unless he satisfies the claim of the head landlord; this is done at a greater sacrifice than the first, the head rent is discharged, but the farmer is ruined. It is true an Act of Parliament was passed in 1817, enabling the tenants thus oppressed to recover by easy process, the amount of the rent for which they had been driven; but to what purpose would be its application? The middleman becomes embarrassed by his own imprudence, and his tenant ruined by his injustice.

Speculation in land has thus proved one of the greatest evils in Ireland: by this kind of traffic it lost the ancient qualities which so highly stamped its value—it was brought to market like any paltry commodity, and sold to the highest bidder. Had the become also the *actual tiller* of the soil, the evil could not have existed to such an extent, he would have given a rent proportionate to the value of the land, compared with the contemporaneous prices of its produce, and other expenses, which in the

true value, and not an increased rent *above* that value, in order to secure a profit to the *Land Merchant*. This additional weight sunk the occupying tenant: it operated so serious a drawback on his industry and capital, that he soon became the victim of its impolicy, and the injustice of his landlord.

I have presented the reader with a brief examination of the Statute for prohibiting subletting of lands in Ireland, and have pointed out some of the evils for the removal of which it was enacted. In support of my observations, I would refer the reader to a work of high authority, Mr. Curwen's Letters from Ireland: in the note annexed to this page a brief extract will be found.*

* Such a system (meaning the subletting of lands) has the effect of augmenting the population to a ruinous extent; while the subdivision of land into such patches is an *effectual* bar to any material improvement in the husbandry of the country. Curwen's Letters from Ireland, vol. 1. p. 104-5.—In the same vol. p. 251, "the rents of "these small occupations are regulated, as I have before "observed, by the payments which *can be exacted*, not "by *what*, in fair dealing, ought *to be* demanded. This "system, when considered as a general or national one, "is a *hydra-headed evil* fraught with consequences of a "most *calamitous nature*."

It is evident some time must elapse before the beneficial effects of the Statute can be generally experienced: the measure is but in its infancy—the root of the evils has been deeply seated, and cannot be suddenly extirpated: the necessity, however, appears to be generally admitted by Tory, Whig, and Radical; but they differ like lawyers about some of the minor provisions.

Whilst on this part of the subject, it may not be quite unnecessary to state a circumstance which came more immediately within my own knowledge.

The late resident land-agent of one of the most extensive, benevolent, and patriotic landlords in Ireland, in speaking of the subletting system, assured me it was one of the greatest evils he had to complain of in the discharge of his duties. The estates of this worthy Nobleman are situate in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, where a great portion of the peasantry have been remarkable for their habits of industry, peaceable conduct, and observance of the law. The intelligent individual I have alluded to, in order to check the growth of the evil, accepted of surrenders of numerous farms

from the persons who had subdivided them, and who were unable to discharge the arrears of rent; these lands re-parcelled out into farms of larger dimensions, and granted leases of them to solvent tenants, containing clauses against subletting under penalties. thus was partially, though not quite effectually removed, the evil which the statute was more generally intended to abolish. To this class may be superadded another evil, but chiefly confined to Irish landlords. In that country, the tenant seldom acquires an interest in his farm proportionate to his circumstances, the quality of the land, the average price of agricultural produce, expences of manual labour, general taxation, and the subsistence of his family. without such a calculation, it is quite clear, he commences his tenancy unaided by any fixed principle, consequently he and his landlord travel on in the zig-zag road of mutual uncertainty for some time, the one hoping to receive his rent, the other to be able to pay it. Much of the system, however, rests in hope, and the landlord ultimately becomes the dupe of his visionary theory, the tenant the victim.

To abolish such a system must be desirable; and as it is quite compatible with the principle laid down, that the landlord should be paid a fair rent for his land, and the tenant acquire an interest according to the scale of regulation already stated, I would most strongly urge the necessity of putting it into general practice as speedily as possible. The consequences of such a change will be to give the landlords a certain, instead of a precarious, income; the tenant a definite, instead of a casual, remuneration for the employment of his capital and labour. Furthermore, it will tend to assimilate the agricultural classes of England and Ireland, diminish the alarming growth of a pauper tenantry, and virtually repeal that greatest of all statutable nuisances, the Irish Forty Shilling Freeholders. It is full time to arrest this latter evil in its growth. The qualification oath required to be taken by the election statutes (independent of the oath against bribery) has done more in the demoralization of the Irish peasantry, than the worst system of disorganization by which that country has been disgraced. I would request the reader's atten-

tion here to a work recently published, entitled, "Ireland, its Evils, and their Remedies," published by Murray, Albemarle Street; it is from the pen of Mr. Sadler. A few passages will suffice to shew the palpable folly of urging the necessity of Catholic Emancipation as the only *panacea* for the cure of the existing evils in that country.*

* In page 153, sect. 10, of Mr. Sadler's work, it is laid down,—"In discussing this, I shall not say a word upon the much agitated question of Catholic Emancipation, further than to remark, that it is a measure perfectly distinct from any of the propositions I shall bring forward in favour of Ireland, and as such I leave it to be argued on its own grounds. It is one, moreover, which, granting it all the importance attached to it by its ablest advocates, falls far short, even in promise, of attempting that in behalf of the country which ought to be accomplished without delay.

"It is obvious that it could not have the effect of increasing the products of the soil, or of distributing them more plentifully amongst the population. Privileges, however regulated, the exercise of which appertain *practically* only to *a few*, can never feed a *starving* people.

"*Emancipation of another kind is what Ireland* must sooner or later obtain, which I fear is too often *lost sight* of in the continued discussion of that question, or intentionally made by some engaged in it, the *cover* for the negligence or oppression of those who are connected with

Ireland, and with the wrongs of Ireland. But the farce of patriotism cannot be carried on for ever, by means of a few cheap votes and declarations, sincere or otherwise. Such political pharisees, out of the luxuriant crop of their liberality, may pay tithe of their mint and anise and cummin, but they omit, in their treatment of this unhappy people, the *weightier matters of the law of real patriotism,— judgment, mercy, and truth.* These observations, I repeat, have not the slightest reference to that question, and are made in strict *accordance* with the opinions of some of its *warmest supporters.*"

Such is the opinion of an unprejudiced and enlightened author, whose work will be read with feelings of sincere pleasure by every advocate of humanity, justice, and benevolence.

CHAP. VIII.

Insult offered to the Marquis of Anglesea by Mr. O'Connell—The Prophecies of the Demagogue regarding the Administration of Lord Anglesea, falsified—The Inconsistency of the Convention in this respect—Remarks thereon—Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Ogle Moore—Mr. Potter Macqueen—The Hon. W. Duncombe.

SCARCELY had the present excellent and enlightened Chief Governor of Ireland (who by the way was selected to fill that high office by the *late Administration*,—an Administration which had previously become the highest theme of panegyric with the Association) been seated in the vice-regal chair, when *one* of the leading functionaries of the Convention announced that the government of the Marquis of ANGLESEA (to use the words of the orator) was to be a *grinding administration for the Roman Catholics of Ireland*." This is the gratitude of the demagogues (for I will

disconnect them from the Roman Catholics at large) for the choice of their beloved Sovereign, and an enlightened administration. Here is a proof of their respect for the memory of their best friend, Mr. Canning, in whose administration Lord Anglesea was chosen.

I should be glad to be informed whence the inference is to be drawn of the hostility of the government of Lord Anglesea to the Irish Roman Catholics: it can only be *inferential*. From what premises is this libellous *corollary* to be deduced, I would ask?

Is it from the continuance in office of the impartial and upright Chancellor, Sir Anthony Hart, upon whom even the calumny of the Convention in its *undiscriminating* rancour has not ventured even to breathe? Is it in that of the zealous and honest advocate of Catholic Emancipation, Mr. Lamb? Or is it because the present Chief Governor had upon one occasion supported the policy and justice of concessions to the claims of the Irish Catholics, that *therefore that act of liberality* is to be construed into a *pledge* of his *future hostility*? Or *finally*, is it because the present

Cabinet contains some of the most sincere and independent friends of Catholic Emancipation, that the head of the Irish Government is to be denounced as presiding over an administration which is to prove "a grinding one to the *Catholics* of Ireland?"

I wish most sincerely to avoid the irksomeness of repetition: if I have erred in this respect, it is from an anxious desire to distinguish between the body of persons styling themselves the Catholic Association, and the great mass of the Catholic population. I am reluctant that the sins of this mischievous junto should be looked upon as the errors of the majority of the Roman Catholics, amongst whom are to be found men of as high honor, integrity, and constitutional loyalty, as any other subjects of the realm.

Actuated by this principle, I do hope that if negociations should become expedient for the settlement of these disputed claims, they will be confined to the *Head* of the Roman Catholic religion, who is the only legitimate power to deal with. I presume the Pope has not delegated his authority to the members of

the Catholic Association, that he has not parted with his right, in this respect, to be the supreme judge of all matters connected with the spiritual and temporal welfare of his church; and if he have not, by what right does the Catholic Convention presume to demand concessions from the British Legislature, which belong to the province of the Holy See to ask? It is true the Pope has not done an act disaffirmatory of the right of interference exercised by the Convention, but has he done any act affirmatory of it? No; he is silent on the subject, but his silence is not therefore to be construed into unqualified approval; it may have proceeded from his contempt for that intemperate and mischievous body. I would say, let his Holiness be treated with as the legitimate head of the Popish Church, instead of this factious and delinquent Convention. If any alteration in the present state of Catholic affairs should be judged advisable, the Pope, being the head of the Romish religion, is the fittest to legislate with for its interests; and if such negociations should fail, it will not be attributed to the palpable impolicy of

dealing with a set of ambitious and selfish [illegible]

I deny that the petitions prepared by the Catholic Association contain the real sentiments of the respectable classes of the Irish Roman Catholics. I sincerely wish the line of distinction could be drawn between that factious Convention and the sober-minded part of the body at large: in other words, between the *real* question of emancipation, and the sedition of the Catholic Convention. A question, which has convulsed the country for years, not so much by reason of its national importance, as the facility it has afforded to promote selfish ambition, and interested views.

What must the Roman Catholics have thought, when they lately beheld one of their most consistent advocates so disgusted with the proceedings of the Association, as to declare his unqualified disapprobation of its conduct? Have they reflected upon the injury the question must sustain in the avowed sentiments of LORD LONDONDERRY? Have they considered the probability of finding LORD LANSDOWNE *greatly* abated in his zeal for the success of

the measure? Example is a powerful moral incentive: if LORD LONDONDERRY feared that further concessions to the Roman Catholics would be dangerous to the principles and practice of the constitution, if he perceived a spirit of faction influencing the proceedings of the Catholic Convention; if, instead of the ordinary petitions to Parliament for redress of grievances, an intention to intimidate was manifest, it became the duty of Lord Londonderry, and, I am sure, will be of every conscientious advocate of that measure, most fully to expose such audacious conduct.*

* The name of Lord Castlereagh is introduced here as that of one well worthy the imitation of some of his temporaries. Ireland has not sent to the Imperial Parliament a more sincere lover of his country, or one influenced by more independent principles than his Lordship. His frankness and urbanity of manner have deservedly earned for him the good opinion of every class and party. I trust the example set by his noble relative will not fail in influencing his mind to adopt a course similar to that which Lord Londonderry deems expedient at the present crisis.

The road to popular favour does not lie through the waste which faction has depopulated, and there is *one course* left for the effectual preservation of the connexion between England and Ireland, and that is by the sup-

I have stated the leading causes of some of the evils at present existing in Ireland, and have, to the best of my humble judgment, pointed out the remedies. I will now briefly advert to another most prolific source of mischief,—the state of irreligion existing in the great bulk of the Catholic population,—and then take my leave of this part of the subject. I particularly address this to the advocates of Catholic Emancipation, who, in *their* view of that question, have recommended the further extension of *political* power, as the only effectual cure for disorders which are, in my mind, deeply rooted in the *consciences* of men. I call this the worst sort of political quackery. I would beg to ask those enlightened advocates of unqualified Emancipation,—have they carefully compared the state of religious education in the North of Ireland with that of the South? Have they reflected upon the benefical influence of it in the former district upon the morals of the population, and compared it with the latter? Is not the growth of crime in the one

a dwarf when contrasted with its gigantic dimensions in the other. Bills have lately been introduced for the disfranchisement of certain corrupt Boroughs; but in my mind there is one county in the South of Ireland so disgraced by systematic delinquency, and has been to the nation such a source of expence, in order to punish its enormities and bring the offenders to justice, that scarcely any act of the Legislature could be considered too rigorous, could it only prove effectual in restraining the wicked disposition of its inhabitants. I do most strongly urge the necessity of inquiry to ascertain the amount of the charges for the crowd of prosecutions, special commissions, and other miscellaneous items connected with the punishment of crime in the county of Tipperary; also the charges for the police establishment, and increased military force there; and I have little doubt but the result of investigation into the first branch of expenditure will prove, that the county of Tipperary alone has been a greater burthen to the state for the last fifteen years, than the charge for the whole north of Ireland during the same period, even including the numerous prosecutions against the Wild Goose Lodge incendiaries. And as to the second division of inquiry, I verily believe the amount on that head will not be less alarming. A Report of a Committee appointed by the Dublin Guild of Merchants, has recently been published; it is dated Guildhall, Dublin, 22d February, 1828. This is a work of considerable importance, and throws a strong

addition, perhaps, some of the friends of Emancipation are not aware, that nine-tenths of the Irish Catholic population do not understand the very *import of the term* Emancipation—that if an Irish peasant be asked what his wants are, he answers, in the native simplicity of an honest mind, "I want food, clothing, and employment." I would, for the better information of the friends of Emancipation, more particularly recommend inquiry into the diminution of crime in those districts where religious education has been encouraged by influential individuals; and then ask the advocates of unconditional political concessions to the Irish Roman Catholics, to prove, in what way the removal of a few disabilities, which the Catholic aristocracy fastidiously complain of, would facilitate the progress of religious and moral improvement throughout that entire population. I do, therefore, submit that the most effectual mode for the abolition of discontent, and for the promulgation of religion and light upon the impolicy of any further political concessions to the Irish Roman Catholics. Its objections to the measure of Emancipation are concisely stated, and their validity, politically and historically, refuted.

encouragement of industry amongst nine-tenths of a great population, ought to be preferred upon every sound principle of national expediency, to the granting of a measure not productive of the slightest advantage to the great body, but resorted to by an ambitious and selfish oligarchy exclusively for their own individual aggrandisement.*

* It is, perhaps, a singular act of good fortune, for which the citizens of Dublin cannot be too thankful, to have at *this moment* a Representative, who is one of the most independent and honest advocates of sound constitutional principles, in the Imperial Parliament—and who discharges his duty to his constituents and the country in the most efficient manner. The name of Mr. George Ogle Moore, naturally calls to mind the memory of his near relative, the late Right Honourable George Ogle, who represented the City of Dublin in the Irish Parliament, and enjoyed the highly merited confidence of his constituents, for his inflexible integrity and political consistency.—Some of the observations which I have made, as applicable to the state of public opinion on the Catholic Question in Ireland, are apparently confined to circumstances of a local nature; lest the argument against further concessions to the Roman Catholics, might be thereby limited in its operation, and weakened in its efficacy, I would beg to illustrate the generality of public opinion on this subject, by referring to two instances which come under my own observation. The first occurred in the intense and general manifestation of public feeling in favour of the claims of the Honourable W. Duncombe, by the freeholders of the County of York. The enthusiasm which appeared to animate all classes of the Yorkshire people in support of that ge-

tleman, conveyed to my mind an additional proof of the unyielding hostility which existed to any further concessions to His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. Public opinion seemed irrevocably fixed upon having a scion of the ancient house of Faversham, to represent the real sentiments of that extensive district upon the Catholic Question;—and when it is considered by what efforts it was sought to be diverted in its course, and by what powerful interests it was opposed, it is not too much to say, that the return of Mr. Duncombe for the County of York, was the triumph of constitutional loyalty over the mischievous doctrines of sectarian innovation. The other instance is in the return of Mr. Rotton Macqueen, for the County of Bedford: the manifestation of public feeling in favour of this gentleman's principles, may be collected from the state of the poll at his return; when there appeared for him the unprecedented number of 1172 plumpers! and for his opponent, the Marquis of Tavistock, but 44! Can there be imagined a more powerful declaration of public opinion than is furnished by the above fact, when it is recollected the interests to which it had been opposed; the wealth and influence of the *alliance* formed for its destruction; the protracted nature of the contest;—yet in despite of all, such was the buoyancy of this constitutional principle, that it rose triumphantly in favour of Mr. Macqueen's politics, as the best calculated to maintain the true interests of the British constitution. Numerous instances might be adduced in support of the generality of public opinion on this subject. I have selected these two, because in my mind they contain in themselves a volume of the most important evidence indicative of public opinion, as contradistinguished from popular clamour. Let it not be supposed that this was the clamour of low-born and hired rabble—it was the united voice of a wealthy, independent and honest yeomanry, uniting with the aristocracy, declaring their undisguised opinion in favour of the principles of the constitution, which placed the illustrious House of Hanover on the throne of these realms.

CHAP. IX.

Difficulties of forming the present Administration—Distribution and allocation of Office.

The construction of the present Administration was immediately (it may be said) preceded by events of extraordinary character; the transitory career of Mr. CANNING—his death—the accession of LORD GODERICH to the Premiership—his momentary elevation—his resignation, and the state of no-government which followed the rupture of his cabinet; all combined to form a crisis of almost unparalleled difficulty in the formation of an efficient Government, and which imperatively called for an association of men united in principle, and strong in *mutual* reliance; possessing also the unlimited confidence of the Crown, and assured of its support in the adoption of such measures as the public safety might require, and which were necessary to secure the good opinion and

affections of the nation. As it now stands, it is composed of men who, in public life, agreed most nearly in the principles upon which public affairs ought to be, and to a great extent have been conducted.

CHAP. X

In the distribution and allocation of office, I should be glad to know how any administration could be constituted, on a foundation of justice towards individual talents and services, or towards the interests of the country, in which the leading members of the present Government in both Houses should not hold the highest official stations.

CHAP. X.

Sketches of Characters—Duke of Wellington—Mr. Peele—Lord Dudley and Ward—his prospective reputation—his political consistency—Lord Ellenborough—his appointment—Military Dandyism—Lord Westmoreland—his unfashionable Equestrianship—strange distinctions on that head—the omission of his name in the Cabinet attempted to be accounted for—Lord Lyndhurst—his continuance in office fully justified—his qualifications to succeed Lord Eldon—his judicial decisions—remarks thereon—his increasing reputation—his future preeminence—Lord Eldon—his wisdom—his politics—his integrity—remarks, &c. &c.—a remark on Mr. Herries—Mr. Huskisson—his political consistency—comments on his acceptance of office in the present Administration—the words of a great statesman—character of Mr. Goulburn—his official career in Ire-

land—its beneficial effects in that country—his qualifications for office—remarks thereon—Mr. Duncan—his qualifications—This politics—Lord Goderich, his able arguments in the discussion of the Corn Question—his hopes of success which the commencement of his political career had excited—his association with the remnant of Mr. Canning's Cabinet—the causes which occasioned his Lordship's administration—comments, &c. &c. and conclusion.

I will not stoop to ask who was the fittest person to fill the office of the Home Department, after the resignation of the Marquis of Lansdowne, but I will ask, in whom could the nation, in the hour of danger, place so much reliance as in the present First Lord of the Treasury? Vain would be any attempt of mine to review the glorious career of that mighty chief—the imperishable page of history will testify his achievements; he shall be clothed with fame, a beam of light to other times. The trumpet of Victory called him from the field—the voice of his sovereign to

prudence in the councils of the nation. Such are the leaders of our present Government.

The present Secretary for Foreign Affairs is, I believe, indebted to his immediate predecessor in that office, for the distinguished honor he now enjoys. A charge, in its nature somewhat akin to political inconsistency towards his deceased friend, was advanced against the noble Secretary, his Lordship, in a qualified way it may be said, was put upon his trial, and whether he satisfied his own conscience in the proof he offered, or rather declined to offer, of his innocence, I do not enquire. A question was put to his lordship in a perfectly tangible shape, by a noble relative of Mr. CANNING's, to which no answer was given—was it because no satisfactory answer could be offered? The official reputation of LORD DUDLEY and WARD is but prospective; his career in that respect presents, as yet, but an insipid uniformity—a state of *official* sterility like this is not likely, however, to continue much longer. The *unmoved* event at Navarin, and the train of serious consequences which must affect the great interests

of this empire, will require the full exercise of the high mental powers which the noble Secretary is *reputed* to possess; I only hope the result will prove that the successor of Mr. CANNING in the Foreign Department will be as distinguished by his efficiency as his predecessor.

Another Noble Lord has been appointed to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, whose politics, if public journals be entitled to credit, present a strange *melange*. Why Lord WESTMORELAND was not re-appointed, I cannot divine; his Lordship has been a faithful servant in office for years, and discharged his public duties with the honest zeal and consistency of one anxious to preserve the best interests of the constitution; but *tempora mutantur*, and unless it be the unconquerable partiality displayed by his Lordship for that very unfashionable fast-trotting, roadcanting, fox-hunting cover pace, which has rendered him so conspicuous as an equestrian, instead of a mixture of the *park* and military-school system, of which Lord ELLENBOROUGH is so *mimetically* proud, I am quite at a loss to

comprehensive understanding, and accurate knowledge of the law. In a very few years LORD LYNDHURST will become one of the most eminent of judicial characters; and had the professional career of his Lordship been exclusively confined to the Court in which he now presides, he would have entered upon his Chancellorship with advantages which rarely fall to the lot of any man. It may be truly said, the principles of LORD LYNDHURST peculiarly qualified him to be (in legal parlance) the keeper of the king's conscience, and to succeed one of the most upright and conscientious judges England has boasted of. The unyielding constancy and faithful attachment of LORD ELDON to the sacred principles of the constitution, will hand him down to posterity as the most perfect model of political rectitude to be found amongst public men. He stood like a venerable oak in the forest, lifting its broad head to the storm, and setting its vengeance at defiance; his wisdom was a light to the councils of the nation—his honesty of heart endeared him to his king and country; he has retired from the busy scenes of public life to enjoy

repose and comfort, and in his grey locks presents to every eye the noblest work of God—an honest man. The memory of his virtues will live, and though years have accumulated o'er his head, I trust, to use the words of a great statesman, "He will not be less a guide, and quite as much a guardian of the constitution in the cloud of his evening darkness, as in the fulness of his meridian day."

The two Right Honourable Gentlemen Messrs. HERRIES and HUSKISSON have been already so much before the public in their ministerial characters, that it would be doubly unkind to them and to the reader to introduce them here with any observations in detail. I fear I should only add to the mass of *inexplicable* matter, which has been offered by way of *explanation*, were I to advert to those topics; to avoid rendering *confusion* still more *confused*, and *contradiction* still more *contradictory*, I shall abstain; but as far as regards Mr. HERRIES, I would briefly observe, that he evinced a manly resistance to an attempt which would have effectually rendered him but *secondary* in the office he held. Whether the

other Right Honourable Gentleman should express any reluctance to ally himself unconditionally to the present Administration, also an irksome inquiry.

The financial reputation of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would have allowed but little opportunity for observation; Have had their follies; *ministers* their crimes; The head of the present Administration, whose political movements through life are a beam of the most decidedly rectilineal character, pointedly contradicted the acceptance of office by Mr. Huskisson, upon the basis of any express conditions required by that individual; his presence in the Government, therefore, can only be accounted for upon conditions implied, or no conditions; how far justified he was in having thus acted upon principles of political consistency, I leave to be decided.

"I knew not (said an eminent statesman) whether it be a greater or more difficult exercise of magnanimity for the one party to act as if he had forgotten, or for the other as if he constantly remembered the obligation."

These are the words of Mr. CANNING. The impartial reader will decide upon the antitude of the quotation. With the Right Honourable

* The introduction of Mr. C. Dawson's name here is truly instilled upon every principle of individual worth and talent. This gentleman was the predecessor of Mr. Spring Rice in the representation of the county of Limerick, a seat which he vacated on account of his opposition to the principles of the Constitution than Mr. Dawson.

The financial reputation of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer could have afforded but little opportunity for observation; nor in his official career under the administration of Lord Talbot in Ireland. In that government Mr. Gladstone displayed as much efficiency, and more purity in the promotion of the religious and general improvement of the country, than any secretary (save one) who had filled that office within the last fifty years; and if his knowledge of finance be as extensive with the knowledge which he has evinced on every subject connected with the interests of Ireland, both countries have much reason to be thankful for the choice of such a minister.*

* The introduction of Mr. G. Dawson's name here is fully justified upon every principle of individual worth and talent. This gentleman was the predecessor of Mr. Spring Rice in the Irish Department, and has given sufficient proof of his efficiency; and whether in place or out of place, his political sentiments have been consistent; his talents useful. The British Senate, in my mind, does not contain a Member more interested in support of the true principles of the Constitution than Mr. Dawson.

The character and abilities of Lord Goderich will conclude my observations of the late Cabinet. As a private individual of exemplary conduct, I believe Lord Goderich is second to none; but his public life, being public property, is the fittest for examination in this place.

Lord Goderich was selected to be the leader of Mr. Canning's administration in the House of Lords. At the period of that appointment, it might with truth be said, his Lordship had undertaken a serious task. The chief trial of his efficiency arose in the discussion of the Corn question, in which, undoubtedly, he displayed much ability, research, and an intimate knowledge of the commercial and agricultural policy of the country; but very powerful interests were opposed to him; though I doubt whether, upon more mature consideration of that measure, some of the reasoning of his Lordship would not appear to have been founded upon the soundest principles of national expediency. This is a question, however, which all parties admit to be involved in much difficulty, and therefore not likely to be

disembarrassed by any observations of mine; and when it is recollected that some of the most enlightened statesmen that ever sat in the British senate, have differed in their views of that measure,—I cannot, and will not, impute any blame to his Lordship for the failure of the propositions. In withdrawing the original motion, he evinced his prudence, and in yielding to the overwhelming interests by which it had been opposed, a becoming deference to the public feeling.

The steady and dignified manner in which LORD GODERICH met the incursive warfare directed against himself and colleagues, the manly tone in which he repeatedly called upon opposition to reduce its charges to tangibility, that they might be refuted, excited flattering hopes of his successful career in office. I for one, protest, I never saw more apparent political intrepidity displayed by any minister in the exercise of his parliamentary duties; and I did imagine, that when the ebullition of individual feeling had subdivided—when ministers had leisure, during the recess, to deliberate upon the questions more deeply involving the exter-

cant, already enfeebled by these overwhelming events. The defeat of the Coinage Bill by the amendment of the Duke of Wellington—the Speech of the Noble Earl—and the unexpected death of Mr. Canning—a combination of disasters such as these, followed by the "*untoward*" affair at Navarino, contributed under his Lordship's auspices no longer to bedeck the annals—an elevation attended with numerous

In addition, his Lordship had to contend with a domestic enemy in the Cabinet, if possible, still more formidable, which had so weakened the strength of his administration, that he yielded to the irresistible hostility of both and retired from office. For an account of that *domestic enemy*, I beg to refer the reader to the speech of the late Master of the Mint, already quoted in part.

I have thus briefly, and I trust the reader will say, fairly examined the political principles of the late and present Administration. I have also, I trust, candidly stated my own opinion, as well as the opinion of others, concerning that stumbling-block to every British statesman, Catholic Emancipation. I hope I have succeed-

fully shown the real sources of some of the greatest evils existing in Ireland, as also the mischief and pernicious consequences of further extending political power to any class of persons in that country, for their removal or relief. I have, I trust, plainly exhibited the dangerous conduct of that arrogant and mischievous body, the Catholic Association; and demonstrated the expediency of speedily abolishing the exercise of its power, and the collection of the Catholic rent. Further, I have dispassionately portrayed the conduct of the advocates of Emancipation in Parliament, without, I hope, exciting unpleasant feelings for that which never was intended, personal allusions. I trust, also, the introduction of other topics will not be considered either foreign from the object or the end of this publication; but apprehensive of the objection which may be raised to my attaching a greater importance to the question of Catholic Emancipation in its present hackneied condition, than its intrinsic merits have any claim to, I would beg it to be understood, that it has a *deep* connexion with the local interests of Ireland, and with the best interests of the empire in general,

that in a question, whose policy has been strenuously maintained by the most enlightened statesmen of past and present times, and decided by others of equal, and perhaps greater ability, when it is recollected, that the Protestant establishment in church and state, was and is the great security of our national welfare and happiness; that whatever protection of person or property is enjoyed by any class of subjects by any sect of religion—whatever civil or religious liberty existed throughout the nation, is derived from the incorporated union of the state and its religion, and will flourish with its prosperity, or sink with its decay—when it is recollected that all sects, all parties, political or otherwise, are concerned in the preservation of this mighty bulwark; when it is viewed, both as the safeguard of the subject, and of the Monarch—the very connecting chain of the reformed religion with the British nation, and with the temperate spirit of our limited government—when it has proved the refuge in the dreadful moment of convulsion—when the great bulwarks of the state have been assaulted—when at whose hallowed altars all sects have found

shelter from despotism or licentiousness—when the most virtuous Monarch that ever sat on the Throne of England, struggled to surmount the difficulties created by the divided obligation he owed his God and the constitution; and when it is considered that our present enlightened and liberal Sovereign may have to undergo a not less painful ordeal,—shall it be said, I have dwelt longer upon such a subject than its importance required?

THE END.

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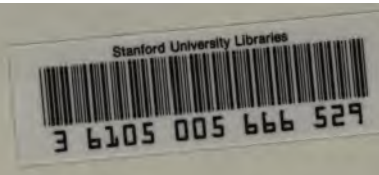

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